

Message Text

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12
ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 SAJ-01 EB-07 TRSE-00 OMB-01 ACDA-07 COME-00

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R 240727Z AUG 76
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1798
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY SEOUL
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI
AMCONGEN HONG KONG
USLO PEKING
CINCPAC HONOLULU HAWAII

C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 12732

E. O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, US, JA
SUBJ: JAPAN-USSR RELATIONS: FOLLOW UP ON DOKO MEETING WITH BREZHNEV

REF: TOKYO 12490 (NOTAL)

SUMMARY: FONMIN MIYAZAWA AND DEPFONMIN ARITA HAVE MADE IT CLEAR AND PUBLIC THAT GOJ CANNOT BE RESPONSIVE TO BREZHNEV'S PROPOSALS FOR LONG-TERM ECONOMIC COOPERATION IN SIBERIA UNLESS POLITICAL CONCESSIONS FROM THE SOVIETS ARE FORTHCOMING. SINCE JAPANESE HAVE NO ILLUSIONS ABOUT HOW FLEXIBLE SOVIETS MIGHT BE, JAPANESE REACTION SUGGESTS INCLINATION TO LEAVE SOVIET-JAPANESE RELATIONS ABOUT AS THEY ARE AND AVOID ANY POSTURING WITH THE SOVIETS THAT MIGHT BE INTERPRETED AS ANTI-CHINESE. END SUMMARY.

1. ON AUGUST 20 DEPFONMIN ARITA CALLED IN SOVIET AMBASSADOR POLYANSKY FOR WHAT ARITA DESCRIBED TO EMBOFF AS "ROUTINE" CONSULTATION. (ACTUALLY CALL WAS ONLY SECOND THAT POLYANSKY HAS MADE ON DEPFONMIN).
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ARITA REMINDED POLYANSKY THAT FONMIN GROMYKO HAD PROMISED FORMAL

SOVIET REPLY AFTER PARTY CONGRESS IN FEBRUARY TO JAPAN'S INVITATION FOR HIGH SOVIET LEADER TO VISIT JAPAN. ARITA NOTED THAT SOVIET UNION INTERESTED IN JOINT DEVELOPMENT OF SIBERIAN RESOURCES. SCOPE OF JAPANESE COOPERATION IS LIMITED UNTIL THERE IS SOME PROGRESS ON PENDING ISSUES BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES (READ "NORTHERN TERRITORIES") AND ON PEACE-TREATY NEGOTIATIONS. HE URGED THAT HIGH-LEVEL SOVIET OFFICIAL VISIT SOON FOR THIS PURPOSE.

2. ACCORDING TO ARITA, PLOYANSKY AGREED THAT PEACE TREATY WOULD PUT JAPAN-USSR RELATIONS ON STABLE BASIS, AND PROMISED TO RELAY GOJ REMARKS BACK TO MOSCOW IMMEDIATELY. HE ADDED THAT SUCH A VISIT WOULD REQUIRE CONSIDERABLE PREPARATION TO ASSURE SUCCESS AND URGED FURTHER CONSULATION BEFOREHAND AT MINISTERIAL LEVEL.

3. SAME DAY, KEIDANREN PRESIDENT DOKO BRIEFED FOMIN MIYAZAWA ON HIS MEETING WITH CPSU SEC GEN BREZHNEV AT YALTA (REFTEL). ACCORDING TO FOMIN FIRST EAST EUROPEAN DIV DIR TOGO, MIYAZAWA WAS CAUTIOUS ABOUT BREZHNEV'S PROPOSAL FOR LONG RANGE DEVELOPMENT OF RESOURCES IN SIBERIA , INCLUDING GOVERNMENT-TO-GOVERNMENT CREDIT AGREEMENT. MIYAZAWA SAID PROPOSAL NOT A MATTER FOR URGENT STUDY; THAT JAPAN PREFERS THE CASE-BY-CASE APPROACH TO APPROVAL OF DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS; AND THAT GOJ NOT EMPOWERED TO MAKE KIND OF LUMP SUM ADVANCE CREDIT AGREEMENT THAT SOVIETS SEEM TO ENVISAGE.

4. RESULTS OF BOTH ARITA AND MIYAZAWA MEETINGS WERE IMMEDIATELY BRIEFED IN DETAIL TO PRESS, WHICH CARRIED FULL ACCOUNTS. ACCORDING TO THESE, FORMAL ANSWER TO BREZHNEV PROPOSAL WILL BE MADE AT BILATERAL ECONOMIC COMMITTEE MEETING IN TOKYO THIS NOVEMBER.

5. COMMENT: MIYAZAWA AND ARITA HAVE INFORMALLY PROVIDED OFFICIAL ANSWERS TO BREZHNEV'S PROPOSALS. THE ANSWERS HAVE BEEN COOL, UNENCOURAGING, AND RATHER PUBLIC, INDICATING THAT THE JAPANESE ARE NOT INTERESTED IN ANY CLOSER TIES WITH THE SOVIETS UNLESS THERE IS SOME MOTION ON THE BASIC POLITICAL ISSUE THAT DIVIDES THEM. WE DO NOT THINK THE JAPANESE HAVE ANY ILLUSIONS ABOUT HOW FORTHCOMING EH SOVIETS MIGHT BE ON THE NORTHERN TERRITORIES. THE JAPANESE REACTION, THEN, SUGGESTS A DESIRE ON TOKYO'S PART TO LEAVE SOVIET-JAPANESE RELATIONS ABOUT AS THEY ARE, AND UNWILLINGNESS TO ENGAGE WITH THE SOVIETS IN ANY POSTURING THAT COULD BE INTERPRETED AS ANTI-CHINESE.
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